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DISTINCTION OF THE FEMININE GENDER IN SOUTHERN TĀTĪ¹

One of the characteristic features of the Tāti² dialects spoken to the southwest of Qazvin, as well as a number of Tāti dialects spoken in Khalkhāl, Tārom and Rudbār-e Alamut, in the southeast of Persian Azerbaijan, is the grammatical distinction of the feminine gender. The distinction, rare in its kind and unique in its extent in Western Iranian, is made not only in nouns and pronouns, but, curiously, also in some forms of verbs. The dialect of Chāl³, a village in the rural district of Rāmand and some 50 kms southwest of Qazvin, with a population of 5546⁴, is chosen here for a somewhat detailed discussion of the distinction of gender as typically found in the Southern Tāti dialects. Mention will also be made of important divergences observed in related Tāti dialects in this respect.

¹ I am grateful to the Social Science Research Council, The American Philosophical Society, and the Council for Research in Humanities of Columbia University, whose grants in 1963-64 enabled me to collect the material on which this paper is based.

² In this paper *z*, *u*, *z̄*, *ū*, as commonly used in Orientalist transcription, are rendered by *e*, *o*, *i*, *u*.

³ See *The Tāti dialects of Rāmand*, in *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, pp. 242-43, for a brief survey of the Southern Tāti dialects.

⁴ See *Farhang-e joḡhrāfiā'i-ye irān*, Vol. I, *s.v.* for a brief description of the village.

⁵ According to the *Gozāreš-e xolāse-ye sar-šomāri-ye 'umumi-ye kešvar*, vol. I, Tehran 1960, which reflects the census of 1956.

1.—NOUNS

1. In the singular the gender marker is nil for the masculine, and unstressed *-a*¹ for the feminine. In the plural the gender is not distinguished. *-a*, which probably continues the old Iranian ending of feminine nouns in *-ā*², is the basic feminine marker not only in nouns but also in adjectives, pronouns, and verbs (*v.* below).

2. All uninflected nouns ending in an unstressed *-a* are feminine. Not all feminine nouns, however, end in an unstressed *-a*. There are two exceptions: 1) A few feminine nouns end in stressed *-a*: *zaniā* 'woman'; *nanā* 'mother', *alluā* 'prune'. 2) A number of feminine nouns end in stressed *-ī*. In the other Rāmandi dialects³ these nouns generally end in *īa*, *e.g.*

- Cha. *arešni* ^{آرنج} 'elbow'; Tak. *aršinīa*, Ebr. *aršenīa*.
tetī 'girl'; Tak., Esh., Ebr., Sag. *tetīa*.
ambōrī 'pear'; Tak. *arimīa*, Esh. *ōmberīa*, Ebr., Sag.
ambōrī (masc.)⁴.
jilī 'chick'; Tak. *cillīa*; Xia. *jilīa*; Ebr. *cilīa*.

Such feminines in *-ī* (generally *-īa* in the other Rāmandi dialects) are mostly based on forms in *-ā*, and seemingly often of borrowed origin, *e.g.*

¹ In this paper a final *-a* is to be assumed unstressed unless marked otherwise. Words ending in unstressed *-a* have the stress on the penultimate syllable unless marked otherwise.

² See G. Morgenstierne, *Feminine nouns in -a in Western Iranian dialects*, in *A Locust's Leg*, 203 ff.

³ These are the dialects of Tākestān (abbr. Tak.), Esfarvarin (Esf.), Xiāraj (Xia.), Xoznin (Xoz.), Ebrāhimābād (Ebr.), Sagzābād (Sag.), Dānesfān (Dan.). Closely related to these is the dialect of Eshtehārd (Esh.). Further to the east and south, the dialects of Alvīr, Vāfī, Āštiān, Āmora and Kahak have close connections with Rāmandi dialects and also distinguish the feminine gender. Here, by Southern Tāti is meant the dialects of Rāmand and Eshtehārd.

⁴ V. Zhukovsky, *Materialii*, II, 107 b, has *onberīa*. Cf. W. B. Henning, *The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan*, «Trans. Philol. Soc.», 1954, p. 160.

- Cha. *nōmazi* 'fiancée'; Tak. *nomāzia*, Esh. *nomāzia*, Ebr. *numāzia* 'fiancée'; cf. Cha. *nomazā* 'fiancé'.
xassī 'fruit stone'; Ebr., Sag. *xastīa*; cf. Pers. *hastā*.
šānī 'winnowing fork'; Tak. *šeynīa*, Esh. *šenīa*, Sag. *šānīa*; cf. Pers. *šānā*.
sārī 'star'; cf. Tak. *āstāria*, Ebr., Sag. *estāria*; cf. Esh. *esdāra*, Pers. *setāra*.
māccī 'bitch'; Tak., Xia. *mācia*; cf. Pers. *mācā* 'female'.

Cf. further Tak. *kisia* 'bag' (Pers. *kisā*); Tak. *dandia*, Esh. *dendia* 'rib' (Pers. *dandā*); Esh. *ōgey-nania* 'stepmother' (Pers. *nanā* 'mother'); Xia. *vivia* 'widow' (Xia., Cha. *vivā* 'a widower'); Esh. *šāxia* 'branch' (Pers. *šāxā*); Tak. *tulia* 'puppy' (Pers. *tulā*); Cha. *gorbia* (fem.) 'cat' (Pers. *gorbā*)².

In view of the above examples one may assume that in Chāli the feminine nouns in *-ī* are shortened forms of feminines in **-īa*, (< **-aʷa*) and are based on words in *-ā*,³ except when *-ī* is original (as, e.g., in *quti* 'box'; cf. Pers. *quti*; *ambori*, cf. Pers. *amrud*, Asālemi of Ṭālesh *amb(u)ru*, Shāli of Khālkhāl, *amberu*).

No feminine nouns in *-u*, *-o*, or *-ā* were attested in Chāli (but see some personal names, below).

3. When the meaning of a noun implies a natural gender, the grammatical gender parallels it, e.g.

- xʷāka* 'sister'
māgāva 'cow'
karka 'hen'

Cf. *riša* (fem.) 'beard', but *esbia-riš* (masc.) 'elder man' (lit. white-bearded).

Personal feminine names too take the feminine marker, e.g.

- Golāba* (Pers. *golāb* 'rosewater')
Māha (Pers. *māh* 'moon').

¹ *ō* and *ē* in the transcription of Chāli represent [ɔʷ] and [ɛi, ei] respectively. The semivowel glide in them tends to be dropped in rapid speech.

² In contemporary Persian of Tehran the final *-a* in all such words is narrowed to *-e*.

³ See below for a similar treatment of the feminine proper names in *-a*.

- Maryama* (Aram-Pers. *Maryam*)
Zinata (Ara-Pers. *zinat* 'ornament')
Xōnoma (Mong-Pers. *xānom* 'lady')
Sadafa (Ara-Pers. *šadaf* 'mother of pearl')
Kešvara (Pers. *kešvar* 'clime, country')
Me(h)rangiza (Pers. *mehr-angiz* 'love-inspiring')
Dastagola (Pers. *dasta-gol* 'a flower bouquet')

However, when a personal feminine name is a word ending in a vowel, the feminine marker does not appear, e.g. *Dajji*, *Āvāji*, *Qomri*, *Tāji*, *Juju*, *Fāfā*, *Zibā*, *Tubā*, *Naná*, *Fāt(e)ma*, *Xajja* (< *Xadija*)¹.

In some of the other Rāmandi dialects, borrowed feminine names ending in *-ā* change their ending into *-ia* (see 2.), e.g.,

Tak. *Xadija*; Tak., Esh., Sag. *Fātemia* (but Ebr. *Xadija*, *Sakina*, with the shift of accent).

4. Separate terms are used for the male and female of some animals, e.g.,

- qoc* 'ram', *miša* 'ewe'
yōnagāv 'bull-calf', *dogi* 'heifer'
xorus 'cock', *karka* 'hen'
asbā 'dog', *mācci* 'bitch'
asb 'horse', *mādiōna* 'mare'.

When no separate terms are employed to distinguish the sex of the animals, the feminine may be formed by adding the feminine marker *-a* to the masculine, or, if the generic name is feminine, as in *xara* 'donkey', the masculine may be obtained by dropping the feminine marker. In some cases *mā(yā)* 'female' or *nar(a)* 'male' is used before the generic noun to show its gender, e.g.,

- varg/varga* (masc., fem.) 'wolf'
oštōr/oštōra 'camel'
gušak/gušaka 'young camel'
guar/guara 'calf'

¹ Only in one name, *Salama* (Ara-Pers. *Salamā*), a shift of the accent from the final to the penultimate vowel was noticed in Chālī.

xar/xara 'donkey'
ordak/ordaka 'duck'
qāz/qāza 'goose'
kōtar/kōtara 'dove'
šišak/šišaka 'lamb'
veškenj/veškenja 'sparrow'
korra/korri '(donkey) colt' (see 2. for -i).
nara-gorbia/māya-gorbia 'cat'
gāv/mā-gāva 'bull/cow'.

Note 1.—Insects often have a feminine generic name¹, e.g.

gengāla 'beetle' سرسبز
niāsa 'fly' کبک
anguraka 'spider' سپ
espeja 'louse' سب
kelma 'worm' کرم
zallua 'leech' زالو
pita 'clothes moth' پس
gāvazaka 'tarantula' تارک

but *ang* 'bee' (cf. however Tak., Xia., Sag., Nowkiāni²
anga (fem.), Esh. *kōma*, Ebr. *ang*).
vezzā (masc.) 'small worm which affects cheese, meat,
 etc.'.

Note 2.—In Ebrāhimābādi and Sagzābādi, two Rāmāndi dialects to the southeast of Chāl, the names of non-fruit-bearing trees are masculine and end in *dār* 'tree'. The names of fruit-bearing trees are feminine and end in *dārā*, except when the name of a fruit is masculine, in which case *dār* is used instead. Examples with *dār*,

Ebr. *šāla-dār*, Sag. *šāla-dār* 'poplar tree'
zornā-dār, Sag. *via-dār* 'willow tree'
cenāra-dār 'plane tree'

¹ Cf. 'Resāla-ye Loghat-e Fors-e Ahāli-ye Rāmānd' Farhang-e Irān Zamin, III, 1, p. 44 ff., where the names of a number of animals and insects from the dialect of Xiāraj are given. The *Resāla* is written about a hundred years ago by an anonymous native of Xiāraj.

² A conservative Tāti dialect spoken in Nowkiān, in the Upper Tārom, population 253.

- nālbanda-dār*, Sag. *nārbanda-dār* 'elm tree'
yuza-dār, Sag. *yuza-dār* 'walnut tree'
anāra-dār 'pomegranate tree'
miva-dār, Sag. *amboria-dār* 'pear tree'
 Sag. *albālua-dār* 'sour cherry tree'.

Cf. Ebr., Sag., *yuz*, 'walnut'; *anār* 'pomegranate'; Ebr. *mivá*; Sag. *ambori*, 'pear'; Sag. *ālbālu* 'sour cherry' -- all masculine nouns.

Examples with *dāra*:

- Ebr. *asifa-dāra*, Sag. *asua-dāra* 'apple tree'
veyma-dāra, Sag. *veyma-dāra* 'almond tree'
šeleneka-dāra, Sag. *šelunika-dāra* 'apricot tree'
anjīla-dāra 'fig tree'
 Sag. *tefa-dāra* 'mulberry tree'
senjia-dāra 'wild olive tree'
aleva-dāra 'plum tree'

An exception is Sag. *gilāsa-dāra*, since *gilās* 'cherry' is masculine. My notes are not sufficient to determine the position of the other dialects in this respect².

5. Unlike the masculine nouns, the feminine nouns are not declined in the singular, *i.e.*, they end in *-a* in both the direct and the oblique case³. In the plural, however, they are declined like the masculine nouns, with the feminine marker dropping out. The endings of feminine nouns are:

fem. sing.	dir.	<i>-a</i> (unstressed)
	obl.	<i>-a</i> (unstressed)
fem. pl.	dir.	<i>-e</i> (unstressed)
	obl.	<i>-ō(n)</i> ⁴ .

¹ This word occurs, however, as fem. in Cha., Tak., Esh., and Xia.; see 2.

² In Nowkiāni all tree names are masculine.

³ The ending of the sing. masc. nouns is *nīl* in the direct, and unstressed *-e* in the oblique case.

⁴ *-ōn* occurs occasionally before a vowel.

Examples:

- Cha. *miša bešia* 'the ewe went away'
miša gušt x^wār ni 'ewe meat is not good'
miše bōmend 'the ewes came'
cemā mišō berxinā 'buy ye our ewes'
 cf. *qoc bešō* 'the ram went away'
qoc-e gušt x^wār ni 'ram meat is not good'

Note.—In Eshtehārdi and in those North Tāti dialects which distinguish the feminine gender (the group includes Kajali in the Kāghaz-Konān of Khalkhāl, Dizi, Karani, Lerdi and Karnaki in the Shāhrud of Khalkhāl, and Nowkiāni in the Upper Tārom) feminine nouns are declined also in the singular. The ending of the feminine singular oblique is stressed *-ā* in Eshtehārdi and stressed *-e* in the other dialects.

Examples from Eshtehārdi and Nowkiāni:

- Esh. *miša* (dir.) *bekata* 'the ewe fell'
mišā (obl.) *alaf bexārd* 'the ewe ate grass'
 Now. *vargon guspanda* (dir.) *bexārdā* 'the wolves ate the ewe'
guspandē (obl.) *vāš bexā* 'the ewe ate grass'

It may be assumed therefore that in Chāli and the other Rāmandi dialects the declension of feminine nouns in the singular has been simplified.

6. In rapid speech, the nouns in *-i*, mostly feminine (see 2.), generally do not change in the direct plural, e.g.

- Cha. *jay arešni pāka nind* 'his elbows are not clean'
sāri aber-ōmenda 'the stars rose'
sāhe bāt ke ilci benda xedmat 'the king said: «Let the envoys come to [my] presence»'.

but in carefull speech the *-e* ending of the plural appears:

- jillī-e bešend* 'the chicks went away'
sāri-e aber-ōmenda 'the stars rose'.

¹ See «BSOAS», 23 (1960), p. 279.

7. Feminine nouns denoting family relationship (mother, sister, etc.), like their masculine counterparts (father, brother, etc.) continue an old oblique in *-r* and form their singular oblique by adding *-r* to their uninflected form, e.g. *pia/piar* 'father', *berā/berār* 'brother', *x^wāka/n^wākar* 'sister', *xoserga/xosergar* 'husband's mother', *hivar/hivarar* 'husband's brother', *hōva/hōvar* 'co-wife', *zōmā/zōmār* 'son-in-law', *xosurā/xosurār* 'husband's father'. The sing. oblique of *māya* is *mār*.

The plural oblique of such nouns, however, is built like that of the ordinary feminine nouns. Thus *x^wāka* 'sister' is typically inflected as:

sing.	dir.	<i>x^wāka</i>
	obl.	<i>x^wākar</i>
pl.	dir.	<i>x^wāke</i>
	obl.	<i>x^wākō(n)</i> .

In *mārō(n)*, *piarō(n)*, and *berārō(n)*, however, an older form of the oblique plural, based on the oblique singular, is preserved. In Esf. *xākaron* 'sisters' was given as an 'out-moded' oblique plural for the more current *xākon*.

In genitival compounds denoting cousinship, however, the antecedent genitive does not end in *-r*, but, following the general rule of the dialect¹, ends in *-a*, e.g.,

- Cha. *xālaka pur* 'son of the mother's sister'
bibia teta 'daughter of the father's sister'
 but: *piar-zan* 'stepmother (lit. father's wife)'.

The words for 'woman' and 'girl' are generally distinguished in Southern Tati from their etymologically congenates 'wife' and 'daughter', respectively, in both form and inflection. The words for 'woman' and 'girl' like the words for 'boy' (as against the word for 'son') never show an oblique in *-r*, but

¹ The rule is for the first member of genitival compounds to take *-a*, unless it ends in *-a* or *-ā*, in which case it does not change, e.g., *uz-a mōna* 'walnut kernel', *luās-a jili* 'fox's young', *umi-a pur* 'uncle's son', *zōmā-berā* 'best man (lit. son-in-law's brother)'. When the combination is not conceived as a "compound", however, the antecedent genitive is put in the oblique case, e.g. *padesāh-e teta* 'the king's daughter', *uz-e pussa* 'walnut's shell'. Cf. the antecedent attributive adjectives, 9.

are inflected as ordinary words'. Note, *e.g.*, the typical Xiāraji forms: *zēna/zenar* (dir. & obl.) 'wife', *zenia/zenia* 'woman'; *peur/peurar* 'son', *pevrá/peurey* 'boy'.

In Chāli the above rule is generally observed, except that the uninflected forms of the words for 'woman' and 'wife' are the same. Cf.

	dir.		obl.
sing.	<i>teti</i>	'girl'	<i>teti</i>
pl.	<i>tetĕ</i>		<i>tetō(n)</i>
sing.	<i>teta</i>	'daughter'	<i>tetar</i>
pl.	<i>tĕte</i>		<i>tetō(n)</i>
sing.	<i>zaniá</i>	'woman'	<i>zaniá</i>
pl.	<i>zanĕ</i>		<i>zanō(n)</i>
sing.	<i>zaniá</i>	'wife'	<i>zanar</i>
pl.	<i>zanĕ</i>		<i>zanō(n)</i> .

The declension of *nōmazá* 'fiancé' is as follows:

masc. sing.	dir.	<i>nōmazá</i>
fem. sing.	dir.	<i>nōmazi</i>
	pl.	dir. <i>nōmazĕ</i>
masc. sing.	obl.	<i>nōmazar</i>
fem. sing.	obl.	<i>nōmazar</i>
	pl.	obl. <i>nōmazō(n)</i> .

8. When the feminine marker *-a* is followed by the very common postposition *u* 'from, in, with', the two vowels combine in *-ō*, *e.g.*

xākō (< *xāka + u*) 'from earth'
xālō (< *xōla + u*) 'in ashes'
darzenō (< *darzena + u*) 'with a needle'.

¹ This is the case even where nouns simply denoting a person would, by extension, form their oblique in *-r*. See *The Tāti dialects of Rāmand*, op. cit., p. 244.

II.—ADJECTIVES

9. Attributive adjectives, which precede the noun, do not mark the gender. Irrespective of the gender of the noun which they modify, the adjectives take an unstressed *-a*¹, e.g.,

- Cha. *pāin-a pōšga* 'a low piece of land'
haf-rang-a gis 'seven-coloured tresses'
suamin-a mäh 'the third month'.

Predicate adjectives agree with the subject in gender, e.g.,

- Cha. *cemen xar bad-sar ni* 'my donkey (masc.) is not stubborn'
cemen xara bad-sara nia 'my donkey (fem.) is not stubborn'
em pis bu 'this (masc.) was bad'
ema pisa bia 'this (fem.) was bad'.

Adjectives used substantively mark the gender as nouns, e.g.

- sur/sura* 'the red one' (masc. & fem.)
arsel/arsela 'the maudlin one' (from *arsa* 'tear')

- cf. Esh. *lazak/lazaka* 'the little one, the child'
 Ebr. *pila/pilia* 'the big one, the elder'.

10. The numeral *i* 'one' has a feminine form: *ya* (*ia* [iæ] in Esh., Xia., Sag., and Xoz.), e.g.,

- Cha. *ya bura dard* 'he had a flaxen mare'
 — *purē* (obl.) *migō ya teti bex^wāzi* 'the boy wants to marry a girl'
ya zaniā nemarzi 'you don't leave a single woman [alive]'
ya x^wāka-š šu-š biarda bu 'one sister of his had taken a husband'.

- Cf. *i berā-š dallāk bu* 'one brother of his was a barber'.

¹ Cf. the genitival compounds, 7., fn.

In Sagzābādi and Xoznini, however, *ia* was attested only when used as an indefinite pronoun, e.g.,

Sag. *xāca-šun* (*sic*) *ia-š šev-eš kardaf* 'of their sisters, one had married'

ia-š gujila va 'one [sister] of his was small'

Xoz. *dādā-š ia-š šev-eš kardaf* 'of his sisters one had married'

cf. Xoz. *i dādā-š* 'one sister of his'.

Note 1.—The use of *ya/ia*, however, is not regular in any of the dialects, and *i* is often used instead, e.g.,

Cha. *i xwāka ni pājār pāra bia bi* 'and one sister's shoe had been torn'

Esh. *i zania miāy kardari* 'a woman is coming'.

Note 2.—In Xiāraji *dō* 'two', *sō* 'three', and *dunā* (a unit of countable objects; Pers. *dānā*) also occasionally have a feminine form in *-a*: *dua*, *sua* and *dunia* (see 2.), cf.

Xia. *can duna qoc diri? i duna, dō, sō* 'how many rams do you have? One head, two, three'

can duna beza diri? ia ia dunia, dua, sua, cuār 'how many goats (fem.) do you have? One, one head, two, three, four'

dua je māgowa-š da 'he had also two cows'.

III.—PRONOUNS

11. The feminine gender is distinguished in the singular demonstrative pronouns, which are employed also as the 3rd person singular of personal pronouns. The pattern of gender distinction in pronouns is the same as in nouns, the pronominal feminine marker being unstressed *-a*. The declension of demonstrative pronouns is as follows:

¹ With *ō* changing to *u*.

² Generally, the remote demon. prons. are used as the 3rd person of personal pronouns, but the proximate ones may also be used as personal pronouns.

Proximate

	direct	oblique	agential	postpositional
masc. sing.	<i>em</i>	<i>jī</i>	<i>-yi</i>	<i>bi</i>
fem. sing.	<i>ema</i>	<i>jia</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>bia</i>
pl.	<i>ēme</i>	<i>jīō(n)</i>		<i>biō(n)</i>

Remote

masc. sing.	<i>ā</i>	<i>jay</i>	<i>āy</i>	<i>bay</i>
fem. sing.	<i>aya</i>	<i>jaya</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>baya</i>
pl.	<i>ay</i>	<i>jayō(n)</i>	<i>ayō(n)</i>	<i>bayō(n)</i>

The oblique demonstratives are used mostly in the genitive sense, but also as the object of a verb. The agential pronouns are employed as the agent in passive constructions and also as a direct object. The postpositional pronouns are generally used with an ablative or instrumental sense, and are most often followed by the postpositions *u*, *ku* 'from' or *(e)ndu* 'with'.

Examples:

a) Direct

- em bašc* *em bešō* 'this one (he) went' این (زن) رفت / این (مرد)
ema bešia 'this one (she) went' این (مرد) رفت
ā piše 'that one (he) is bad' آن (مرد) بد است
aya pišē 'that one (she) is bad' آن (زن) بد است

b) Oblique

- em bašc* *jī pey-u* 'in the footstep of this one / of him' در تنگ او (مرد)
ema bašc *jia pey-u* 'in the footstep of this one / of her' در تنگ او (زن)
jay kat 'he followed him (lit. fell in his footsteps)'
jaya das beger 'take the hand of that one / of her'
jiljay di 'give him'
jiljay ku uger 'take from this one / that one (from him)'

c) Agential

- em bašc* *yi bi āgerat* 'this one (he) smelled it'
ya bi āgerat 'this one (she) smelled it'
aya das-nemās-eš āgerat 'she performed the ritual washing'

yi/ya berxin 'buy this one (masc. / fem.)'
ay-šō banjand 'they cut her to pieces'

d) Postpositional

bi-u berbin 'cut from this (referring to the masc. *dār* 'tree')'

biō (i.e., *bia + u*) *berbin* 'cut from this (referring to the fem. *kāleka* 'melon')'

bay/baya ku uger 'take from him/her'

biōndu (i.e. *bia + (e)ndu*) *uger* 'pick up with that one (referring to the fem. *barra* 'spade')'.

Agential and postpositional demonstratives do not occur in the other Southern Tāti dialects, but some of the dialects, notably Ebrāhimābādī, possess more than one set of oblique demonstrative pronouns.

The gender is not distinguished in the clitic forms of personal pronouns in any of the Tāti dialects.

In demonstrative *adjectives* neither the number nor the gender is generally distinguished:

Demonstrative adjectives

	direct	oblique	postpositional
masc. & fem. proximate	<i>em</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>be</i>
masc. & fem. remote	<i>ā</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ba</i>

Examples:

em handōnā (masc.) *xwār-e* 'this watermelon is good'

em kāleka (fem.) *xwār-ē* 'this melon is good'

undi je purē/teti 'give to this boy/girl'

ba mardāk-e ku | ba zaniā ku uger 'get it from that man / from that woman'.

Only occasionally traces of the distinction of the feminine gender are found in demonstrative adjectives, e.g.,

em/ema miša berxin 'buy this ewe!'

IV.—VERBS

12. Chali distinguishes the feminine gender in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons singular of the preterit, the imperfect, the perfect and the pluperfect¹ of intransitive verbs², as well as the present of the substantive verb. The marking of the gender in the 1st and 2nd persons is actually much less frequent than in the 3rd, the masculine form often being used for both genders. Eshte-hārdi, too, distinguishes the gender in the above tenses, but in the 1st and 2nd persons the distinction of gender was attested only in the present of the substantive verb. Takestāni, Xiāraji, Ebrā-himābādi, Sagzābādi, Dānesfāni and Xoznini distinguish the feminine gender also in the 3rd person of the present, and Tā-kestani, which employs the endings of the present for the subjunctive, extends the distinction also to the subjunctive. On the other hand, Xiāraji, Dānesfāni and Xoznini, three closely related dialects, do not mark the gender in the present of the substantive verb; and Sagzābādi, contrary to expectation, uses the same forms in the perfect and pluperfect for both masculine and the feminine (see the Chart below).

a) The manner of marking the feminine gender in verbs is basically the same as in nouns (see 1.), and may best be seen in the 3rd person singular of the preterit *e.g.*,

Cha. *bettat/bettāta* 'he ran / she ran'
bekat/bekāta 'he fell / she fell'.

In the 1st and 2nd persons singular the feminine marker *-a* combines with the vowel of the endings (which are, in fact, the enclitic present tense of the substantive verb) into *ē*, *e.g.*

bekat-im/bekat-ēm 'I fell (masc., fem.)'
buast-iš/buast-ēs 'you ran (masc., fem.)'.

With secondary past stems, formed by adding *-as(s)* (< *-ast*) to the present stem, the same rule is observed, *e.g.*,

¹ Attested in texts only for the 3rd person singular.

² For transitive verbs, which are governed by the rules of the passive construction, see below.

bermamas/-a 'he/she wept'

bettajas-im/ēm (beside *bettat-im*, etc. of the primary past stem) 'I wept (masc., fem.)'.

b) The imperfect marks the feminine gender exactly in the same way and differs from the preterit only in having the prefix *me-*, when no preverb is present; e.g.,

me-sujiast / me-sujiasta 'it used to burn (masc., fem.)'

ā-gardast-im/ēm 'I used to return (masc., fem.)'.

c) The endings of the perfect for the masculine and the feminine are:

	masc.	fem.
sing. 1.	-īm	-īm
2.	-īš	-īš
3.	-ī	-ī

e.g.,

bermamast-ēm/-im 'I have cried (masc., fem.)'

ā-yariasti 'the flower (fem.) has blossomed out'

bešz/beši 'he has gone/she has gone'.

In the other dialects, except Tākestāni, the same basic pattern is followed with slight variations; cf.

Esh. *berenjiast-ā²/-ī* 'it has been spilled (masc., fem.)'

Xia. *bekatā(y)/bekatī* 'he has fallen/she has fallen'

Ebr. *vašt-ē/-ī* 'he/she has run'

Xoz. *bevašt-ē/-ī* 'he/she has run'.

In Tākestāni, the endings of the 3rd person singular perfect are: masc. *-ī*, fem. *-ā* (Cf. the forms of Tak. copula, below); e.g.,

berbenast-ī/-ā 'he/she has cried'

verit-ī/-ā 'he/she has run away'.

¹ *ē* is presumably the outcome of the participial morpheme *-ā* and the copula (see below) in sandhi, whereas *-ī* may be taken as the outcome of *-ia*, the feminine ending of the participle (see 2.), with the unstressed *-ā* and possibly also the copula (unstressed) dropped.

² Without any overt ending.

Chart of gender distinction in verbs¹.

	<i>Cha.</i>	<i>Tak.</i>	<i>Esh.</i>	<i>Nia.</i>	<i>Ebr.</i>	<i>Sag.</i>	<i>Dan.</i>	<i>Esf.</i>	<i>Xoz.</i>
Present	—	3rd	—	3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd	—	3rd
Present of 'to be'	1st, 2nd, 3rd	3rd	1st, 2nd, 3rd	—	1st, 2nd, 3rd	3rd	—	3rd	—
Subjunctive ²	—	3rd	—	—	—	?	—	—	?
Preterit	1st, 2nd, 3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd	1st, 2nd, 3rd	3rd	3rd	1st, 2nd, 3rd	3rd
Perfect	1st, 2nd, 3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd	1st, 2nd, 3rd	—	3rd	?	3rd
Pluperfect	3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd	1st, 2nd, 3rd	—	3rd	3rd	3rd

¹ The chart is not exhaustive, it merely reflects the data available to the writer. Ordinal numbers refer to singular persons of the tense, in which the gender is marked; a dash refers to the fact that no such distinction has been observed. The imperfect follows the example of the preterit throughout and has therefore been omitted from this chart.

d) In the Chāli pluperfect the gender is distinguished in both the participle of the verb and the auxiliary, *e.g.*,

ā berasasā bu 'he had arrived'

aya berasasī bia 'she had arrived'.

Eshtehārdi, Ebrāhimābādī, and Dānesfāni follow the same pattern, except that in Eshtehārdi the ending of the participle is nil for the masculine and *-a* for the feminine, *e.g.*,

gahast bu 'he had become'

gahastā bia 'she had become'.

In the other Southern Tāti dialects (Tak., Xia., Esf., and Xoz.) only the auxiliary marks the gender; *e.g.*,

Tak. *berassatā ve/via* 'he/she had arrived'

Xia. *bešia-f | bešia fa* 'he/she had gone'

Esf. *bešia bu/ba* 'he/she had gone'

Xoz. *bumia-f | bumia va* 'he/she had come'.

e) The present and the subjunctive do not generally mark the gender in Chāli¹. Marking of the gender in the subjunctive occurs only in Tākestāni (see above).

Examples from Tākestāni:

Tak. *ā miā* 'he comes'

āya māya 'she comes'

ā menetone verije 'he cannot run'

āya menetonia verijia 'she cannot run'

qoc mogo² hinjā bexāre 'the ram wants to eat alfalfa'

miša mogo hinjā bexāria 'the ewe wants to eat bread'

Cf. the following Nowkiāni examples:

agar devazā gir degane 'if he runs away he will be caught'

¹ A few examples with *-a* following the ending of the 1st and 2nd persons singular in these tenses, hesitantly given by one of my informants as fem. forms are uncertain.

² This verb from the base *gav-* 'need, want to' does not distinguish the gender and in all the dialects in question behaves like a past transitive verb, even in the present tenses. In Chāli, accordingly and following the rules of the passive construction, its subject is always expressed in the oblique.

agar devazāya gir degeneya 'if she runs away she will be caught'.

f) The masculine and feminine forms of the present of the substantive verb in Chāli are:

	Enclitic	Independent or after a vowel
sing. 1. masc.	- <i>im</i>	<i>yim</i>
fem.	- <i>ēm</i>	<i>yēm</i>
2. masc.	- <i>eš</i> , - <i>iš</i>	<i>yiš</i>
fem.	- <i>ēš</i>	<i>yēš</i>
3. masc.	- <i>e</i>	<i>ye</i> , <i>yi</i> (neg. <i>nī</i>)
fem.	- <i>ē</i>	<i>ya</i> (neg. <i>nīa</i>)

Examples:

Cha. *az yīma¹/yēma¹ tā ta bāyāš* 'I (masc., fem.) will be [here] until you (sing.) come'

em daggā x^wār-e 'this male goat is good'

em beza x^wār-ē 'this female goat is good'

bin asifa (fem.) *ya yā nīa* 'see if there are (lit. is) apple[s] or there aren't (lit. isn't)'

amberāz mō sanduq-u yi 'the clothing is in the trunk'.

ē of the feminine enclitic forms may be explained as the outcome of the contact between the vowel of the substantive verb (*e/i*) and the feminine marker of a preceding word. The independent and negative forms would presumably be secondary.

Of the other Southern Tāti dialects, Ebrāhimābādi and Sagzābādi distinguish the gender in the copula (the 3rd person sing. of the substantive verb) as does Chāli (Ebr. *e/ē*, Sag. *e/ey*). Xiārajī, Dānesfāni and Xoznini do not distinguish the gender in the same. Tākestāni and its neighbour Esfarvarini have *e* and *ā* as the masculine and feminine forms of the copula, respectively. (The Nowkiāni forms are also *e* and *ā*). The Eshtehārdi forms are *a* for the masculine and *i* for the feminine.

¹ -*a* is of a « euphonic » nature and is often attached to the ending of the 1st and 2nd persons singular and the 3rd person plural.

Chart of the distinction of gender in the copula

	Masc.	Fem.
Cha.	<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>
Ebr.	<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>
Sag.	<i>e</i>	<i>ey</i>
Tak.	<i>e</i>	<i>ā</i>
Esf.	<i>e</i>	<i>ā</i>
(Now.	<i>e</i>	<i>ā</i>)
Esh.	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>
Xia.	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
Dan.	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
Xoz.	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>

Note.—Indications for an occasional separation of the feminine marker and the placing of it after the endings of the 1st and 2nd persons occur in some of the dialects, although without the desired certainty, since the distinction of gender in the 1st and 2nd persons is weak and inconsistent. My informants did not feel quite sure of their grounds when providing such indications. One informant in Chāli considered *bōm-a* 'that I come', *bérasā-š-a* 'that you (sing.) arrive' and *bīy-š-a* 'that you (sing.) come' (as against forms without the final *-a*) more « suitable » for women. And one informant in Tākestāni thought that *-a* is sometimes added to the ending of a 1st person singular when the subject is a woman: *mom/moma* 'I (masc., fem.) come'. An informant of Eshtehārdi gave *bema* 'that I be' as the feminine form of *bem* and even thought that a group of women would rather say *imun-a* 'we are' than *imun*. None of these forms, however, was attested in texts. In Eshtehārdi it seems, however, that a loose feminine morpheme may occasionally be detached from the verb and attached to the pronoun, e.g.,

az biéym-a / *az-a bieym* 'I was (fem.)'

tō biéyš-a / *tō-a bieyš* 'you (sing. fem.) were'.

According to the informant who supplied the above examples, *āza* and *tōa* are, however, impossible, in *az mivazem(a)* 'I run (fem.)' since the feminine gender is not distinguished in the

present in Eshtehārdī. Therefore such forms cannot be considered feminine forms of the pronouns.

In Nowkiāni, however, the feminine morpheme may be detached from the noun or verb by an eclitic pronoun. This is also the case in the Tāti of Kajal¹, Lerd, Kārnak, Diz and Karan, all spoken in Khalkhāl. Cf.

- Nowkiāni *am xar-em azira bexerri* 'I bought this male donkey yesterday'
am xār-em-a azira xerriā or *am xara azira xerriem-ā* 'I bought this female donkey yesterday'
 Lerdī *dāsem-a beškesā* 'my hand (*dāsa*, fem.) broke'
dāser-a 'your hand'
 Karnakī *dassem-a daysā kara* 'my hand aches'
bexerān-a cejura yā 'how is your goat (fem.)?'.

13. In Chālī or any of the other Rāmandi dialects, past transitive verbs, which are employed in a passive construction, do not mark the gender of either their logical direct object (grammatical subject) or that of their agent, e.g.,

- Cha. *Hasan/Zēnaba nōn-eš bexōrda bu* 'H. (masc.)/Z. (fem.) had eaten bread (masc.)'
Hasan/Zēnaba asifa-š bexōrda bu 'H./Z. had eaten apple[s] (fem.)'.

Eshtehārdī past transitive verbs, however, generally show the gender of their logical direct object, preserving a more consistent form of the passive construction, particularly when the object is animate, e.g.,

- ji fur-eš bezā* 'he beat his son'
ji tetia-š bezia 'he beat his daughter'.

The same distinction is made also in Nowkiāni and those Tāti dialects of Khalkhāl which distinguish the feminine gender, e.g.,

¹ See 'BSOAS', 23 (1960), p. 279.

Nowkiāni *men hoštan asb* (masc.) *xoruti* 'I have sold my horse'

men hoštan xara (fem.) *xoruta* 'I have sold my donkey'

Karani *igla vaki* (fem.)-*m-i xeri-ā* 'I bought a kidney'

cf. *igla bari* (masc.)-*m-i xeria* 'I bought a door'.

E. Yar-Shater